F.O.R. Fellowship

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Dusk

When all the young are gone
Strong bones, firm flesh
Shattered and scattered from the total skies
Around the total earth—

When they are gone and only we the old remain
(If we remain)
In sundered villages re-learning arts
The Pilgrims lived by in the forest edge—

And when we sit in twilight, saving thriftily
The crooked tallow dip—
What shall we think about?

A city risen to heaven in steel?
Suburban smiling lawns?
Bicycles stacked in schoolyards
And the eager budding youth of them
To whom, the pledge of love, we promised life?

—Grace K. Shaw Smith

Overcoming Fear, by A. J. Muste

Japan in Transition

"Unless My Dream Is True"
by Dorothy T. Spoerl

ff This issue contains an article by a member of the Japanese parliament, based on information culled by our correspondent from a number of sources in Japan. It gives a pretty dark picture of the situation in Asia and the consequences of American policy in Japan and in the Far East generally. . . . A. J. Muste presents a searching analysis of the relationship between material and spiritual security, and the confusion between them that exists in the minds of most people, in "Overcoming Fear" . . . Dorothy Spoerl, author of "Unless My Dream Is True . . .", is Professor of Psychology at American International College (not the YMCA college) in Springfield, Massachusetts; is a Unitarian-Universalist minister; and has an eight-year-old son. . . . And a special bonus in the form of seven whole pages of pictures of the 35th Annual Conference of the FOR, held at Evanston in September, and of the National staff of the FOR at 21 Audubon. There are few FOR members, we warrant, who won't find some new faces here, no matter how wide their acquaintance; and for those who live off the beaten track and *never* see a staff member, here is an introduction at second hand.

FELLOWSHIP

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Subheads

Red

Hollywood—or to be specific, Monogram Pictures—has shelved a projected picture based on the life and exploits of Hiawatha, Longfellow's immortal Indian. It seems that Hiawatha, who lived some five hundred years ago, was instrumental in ending the fighting between some of the Indian tribes and organizing the famous Five Nations, which was about as effective in maintaining peace as the United World Federalists devoutly hope a world government would be.

The Monogram moguls point out that to bring out a picture praising a peacemaker would be to play right into the hands of the modern redskins, the Communists. Since the Communists' propaganda is peace-centered, they explain, the Hiawatha picture might be construed as part of that propaganda. Being patriotic Americans, they are giving up the project.

This should not come as a great surprise to anyone who has been reading the papers. From being mad at the Communists for telling everybody *they* were only interested in maintaining peace in spite of the war-mongering Americans, it was only an easy step to being mad at anybody who talks about peace because he might be a Communist. From there it's only a shuffle to disowning anybody, Communist or not, who ever said a good word for peace, and it will need only a slight sidestep more to the proud announcement that *we* wouldn't have peace on a silver platter.

It's probably lucky Hiawatha lived when he did, with only the savage Indians to convert. Today he'd be on the Attorney General's subversive list!

Formula

The president of Princeton University has the whole thing worked out nicely. The only way to peace, he told some of his students the other day, is by disarmament. However, since the Russians "understand only the language of force," the only way to disarmament is to arm to the teeth.

We have no information on

whether this sounded confusing to any of the undergraduates or not. There was no report, at any rate, of anyone saying "Hey, wait a minute," or scratching his head, or even checking out of his class in logic, so we assume the Princeton students have by now become pretty much inured to this kind of thing. For the record though, we think the logic of the thing ought to be down in black and white. What *we* get goes like this:

1. Present-day arms are so destructive that anything is better than a war that might annihilate the human race;

2. Armaments always lead to armaments races which always lead to war; therefore,

3. Disarmament is the only way to peace.

But then, on the other side, you find:

1. The Russians understand only the language of force, therefore,

2. We must arm to the teeth; but

3. Armaments always see (2) above; therefore,

4. ?

Which brings to mind the conversation of Alice and the Red Queen:

"When you say 'hill,'" the Queen interrupted, "*I* could show you hills, in comparison with which you'd call that a valley."

"No I shouldn't," said Alice. "A hill *can't* be a valley, you know. That would be nonsense—"

The Red Queen shook her head. "You may call it 'nonsense' if you like," she said, "but *I've* heard nonsense, compared with which that would be as sensible as a dictionary."

Chicago Sun-Times Syndicate

"I don't mean to imply anything about Mrs. Sneedby . . . but I never heard of a loyal citizen who knows EVERY stanza of the 'Star-Spangled Banner' by heart . . ."

Witches

Probably we should have expected this, the laws of logic being what they are, but the witch hunts have now turned up some witches, or at least witch doctors. According to the United Press, British intelligence agents report that "Russian Communist agents" are infiltrating into West African tribes, seeking to get a following in their secret societies and among "prominent witch doctors." Probably the *Daily Worker* soon will publish a photograph of its West African correspondent, complete with feathered headdress, wand, and tomtom. Maybe the Attorney General will have to add to his subversive list, too, while future witnesses before the Un-American Committee may expect to be asked: "Have you ever been, or known, a witch doctor?"

Hopeless

Almost everything we read about Denmark raises our respect for that little country another notch. The latest item came in a published report on the "national defense" programs of the Scandinavian countries. Referring to the weaknesses of Denmark's defenses, the report said: "To most Danes this picture is so hopeless it is not even worth worrying about."

Defense

Our own country's "defenses" are excellent. If you happen to be within two quick steps of a doorway or the corner of a building when an atomic bomb falls not less than a half-mile away, and you remember to duck as soon as the bomb drops, you may survive. Always providing, of course, the building doesn't fall on you.

Important

A professor of nuclear physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has come up with a new answer about what to do with the huge numbers of Americans concentrated in cities if atomic war comes. Since dispersal of cities seems pretty impracticable, evacuation impossible for more than a percentage of any city's population, and bomb-shelters limited to only a few, the professor suggests that people be classified as to their importance.

Only the most important, of course, would be admitted to the shelters, along with the most important records, which the professor would also have classified. The less important, only mildly important, and very unimportant people would be left to what comfort they could get from lying prone behind a curbstone or crouching behind an abandoned filing cabinet filled with superfluous records.

We doubt whether this will have much appeal for most Americans. For one thing, the average American, neither general, politician, nor atomic physicist, would have a shrewd suspicion that his classification would be VUP. For another, the question is sure to arise: important for what? If they're important for defense, somebody is likely to ask why everybody else is being left defenseless.

It could be, though, that if the professor keeps preaching his idea for a while, it just might occur to a lot of people that they ought to spend less time worrying about shelters and more time making peace.

Precedent

There *is* some precedent for the professor's idea, of course, in the case of Noah, and the authorities may want to look up the records to see the basis for selection then. Our own recollection is that the people were warned several times about the sinful lives they were living, and that repentance was the password into the Ark.

Or, since the United States prides itself on being a Christian nation, it may be a hint could be gotten from Jesus. Probably not, though, because in that case the shelters would be cluttered with the meek, the childlike, the persecuted, the peacemakers, the sorrowing, and those who hunger and thirst after righteousness.

Come to think of it, there might be plenty of room, at that!

OFTEN MISUNDERSTOOD, TRUE SECURITY CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY BY

Overcoming Fear

By A. J. MUSTE

"In this world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer: I have overcome the world. . . . Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid; ye believe in God."

THE NATIONS TODAY live in fear. Millions of words are written, thousands of therapists make a living, because individuals seek deliverance from fear.

But Jesus knew no fear, and confidently told others not to be afraid. This is not because he or they, when these words were spoken, were in the usual sense secure. On the contrary, he was physically in a state of utter insecurity. It was the last night of his life. He knew that shortly he was to be betrayed by one of his disciples. Another, the one perhaps closest to him in spirit, would deny that he had ever known him. Thus his life's work was apparently to be undone. He was to be arrested, accused of trying to turn the world upside down, crucified. He was to feel that even God had forsaken him.

This makes what he had to say about fear all the more significant. No one questions that he is one of earth's great conquerors. It is clearly of special importance for our own generation that he displayed fearlessness in the midst of utter insecurity, for if our generation is to find surcease from anxiety, it must be in spite of the fact that existence is certain to be precarious. Only one who can show us how to be free from fear in the midst of mortal peril can help us.

Attachment and Fear

Jesus' greatest strength was that there was nothing he wanted of the world, nothing of which it could deprive him, that he was not entirely willing to let go, if fidelity to the will of God required it. Life itself he would not hold on to if to do so was to be unfaithful to principle. He had overcome the world because it could no longer hurt him.

The dictators and the stirrers up of hatred and hysteria all work from the knowledge that men are "attached"—attached to money, ease, a job, pleasure; to other people, to fame, to a reputation for being a solid citizen. They can be hurt if these things are taken from them. Therefore, they can be terrorized, made to conform, sign loyalty oaths, goose-step, and stand by silent when freedom is stoned to death.

Our age as a whole is much attached to material things: we have more of them than any past age. *Therefore,* our age is vulnerable, and *therefore* the dictators have the opportunity to take over everywhere. The only people over whom the dictators will *not* prevail are those who are without fear because the only thing they fear is to fail to do the will of God.

Wilhelm Mensching, the Lutheran pastor and FOR leader in

Germany who went through the years of the Nazi regime, and through the war, without saying Heil Hitler, told me in answer to my question as to how such nonconformists survived in a totalitarian state: "Except insofar as it was simply of God's grace, it was because the man who made it clear to the Nazis from the start that they could kill him if they wanted to—Christians knew how to die—but they could not bend him, he simply would not compromise conscience, had a chance to survive with honor. The least indication that you could be bought or terrorized because of something or someone you were attached to, was fatal."

Exactly the same thing is said by the American mission[1] that went to Germany after the war to determine how far German scientists had gone toward atomic bomb production, about the few scientists who had insisted on scientific integrity and would not compromise it for the Nazis.

Note then that you will always be haunted by fear so long as there are things you want more than character. An America that has half the wealth of the world in its hands and is seeking to hang on to it is haunted by fear. And it will continue to be haunted until, for example, it becomes as efficient in giving away its surplus food to famine-ridden Chinese as in selling refrigerators to American housewives.

That incident on the last night of Jesus' life also suggests the true relation between security and fearlessness.

People think they must have security first, must create an outward situation in which there is nothing to be afraid of, and then, of course, they will not be afraid. That seems eminently sensible, and in a way it is. Human beings do have to have a certain minimum of food, clothing, shelter, in order to exist.

But it is easy to become obsessed with the idea of security and to give it a priority that in real life it does not have. Reflect that this fear-ridden generation of ours is materially much better off than any of its forerunners. There could hardly be a more complete and terrible illustration of what happens to men who think security comes first, and who regard the counsel, "Be not anxious for your life . . . seek first the Kingdom," as amusing.

In some situations we are well enough aware of the fact that security is the result of risk, that "out of this nettle, danger, we pluck this flower, safety." The business man who devotes himself to hanging on to the dollars he has will never make any money. The child who hangs on to his mother's apron strings for security will live in a torment of fear and may be driven to seek "safety" in insanity.

The basic question never is how much wealth, armor, or protection, an individual or nation can hold onto. There will never be enough to banish fear. Something invariably happens to knock the props out from under such a seemingly secure edifice if the spirit seeks to shelter itself there.

In a brilliant article, a scientist, Dr. Alexander Mebane[2] has dem-

[1] ALSOS by Samuel A. Goudsmit, Henry Schuman, Inc., New York, 1947, Pp. 185-6.

[2] *The Strategy of World III*, article in *American Perspective*, Summer 1950, published by Foundation for Foreign Affairs, Washington, D. C.

onstrated how the assigning of priority to security by a nation such as ours drives it to "seek safety" in insanity. He calls the armaments race a "paranoia race" and points out that the paranoia from which the United States as well as Russia suffers today "implies the inevitability of atomic war."

The Paranoiac's Solution

But to this difficulty the paranoiac supplies his own crazy "solution": "In the paranoid system the duty of fighting the enemy is an absolute one: to weigh the consequences would be dishonorable. . . . Therefore, if fighting the enemy means atomic war; if it means the destruction of most of the cities of the world; if it means the transformation of thousands of square miles into radioactive deserts; if it means man-made plagues; if it means the extinction of democratic governments everywhere; if it means permanent radioactive pollution of the very oceans and of the air itself; *if it means the death of all living things*—all of these are *lesser evils!* In the paranoid state what Russia might do to us if we failed to threaten her militarily must be considered to be *worse than the annihilation of the whole world.*"

Need more be said to drive home the lesson? It is not security with which we start and fearlessness with which we then end up. Fearlessness is what we must begin with. Paradoxically, we may then achieve outward security. However, if we *are* still outwardly insecure, we are thus—and only thus—able to deal creatively with the situation. The state of blessedness is not the state of security in the midst of fear, but of fearlessness in the midst of insecurity.

Finally, Jesus was free from fear because he had made himself defenceless, had "put up his sword." He who arms himself arms his enemy. If you must "defend" yourself against him, he concludes he must "defend" himself against you.

But the fact is that Jesus was crucified, that the innocent do suffer. "Defencelessness" is not a guarantee against injury.

If we think that we have thus caught Jesus in inconsistency or foolishness, however, we are mistaken. He said explicitly: "He that would save his life must lose it. Except the grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it cannot bear fruit."

The Ultimate Insecurity

Man seeks to defend, to advance and save his life, but he cannot do it in any adequate sense. He lives in a universe that will not stay put. Much more serious, he must die. Many psychologists and philosophers hold that it is this precariousness, this ultimate insecurity of man's life that is at the root of the anxiety that besets him. He wants to put death away, and he cannot.

The stoic schools himself to be indifferent to death and thus achieves a kind of mastery over it, but Jesus went beyond this. He adopted a positive attitude, an attitude of acceptance, even of joy, toward the ultimate threat of death. He chose the *manner* of his death, *chose* to die, for principle, for God. Thus he even, in a measure, determined the time of his death. But even this is not the full story of how Jesus overcame death, and by the same token fear. Men in the effort to save life destroy and kill other men who stand, or seem to stand, in their way.

Jesus is he who, having the power to kill, chose to suffer and die on behalf of evil-doers.

When a man appears who is appointed, as all men are, to die, and chooses the manner of his death, a man who could destroy and who chooses rather to be destroyed, then God is revealed. Mastery over life and death is effectively asserted, divine power is released, and a new creation becomes possible. If, as happened with Jesus, such a man actually dies, his mastery and victory are so much the greater, because he has proven that there was no flaw in his love, that he did not shrink from paying the ultimate price.

Divine Foolishness

At first men never believe that. They cannot "see" it, for it seems absurd. The Cross is foolishness. Jesus' disciples were like that, and "they all left him and fled." This was the end; he was dead. They had thought him wise, strong, the very source of life. Now they saw that he had been foolish and weak. He could not save himself.

Then the experience which we call the Resurrection happened to them and the focus was completely changed. Surface facts were as they had been. He was "crucified, dead, buried," but the reality was very different. They knew now that he who had seemed foolish had after all been infinitely wise. He who had seemed weak would reign among men throughout all time. He who had seemed dead was alive, and they alive in him.

Whenever a man follows in Jesus' footsteps—even of you and me this is true—he walks the earth without fear, and where he is, life is renewed.

Nations also are destined to die. Of each in turn can it be sung:

> Far-called, our navies melt away;
> On dune and headland sinks the fire.

Each struggles frantically to stave off death. Long before Dr. Mebane, Jesus pointed out that like madmen they destroy themselves in the effort to escape destruction. And for a nation, a society, there is no other way to overcome fear and attain unto life than the way in which the individual achieves these goals. The nation also must choose the manner of its death—for principle. It must choose to live and die for mankind rather than seek life for itself.

This is not a counsel of passivity, indifference or cheap success. It is a summons to sanity and moral heroism. The nation that says: "I will appease in order to save myself," still wants to save itself, still thinks that a nation will arise that will be immortal and that it is that nation. That nation will perish as all nations do. Appeasement and renunciation are not identical, but opposites. God does not indeed always exact the full price, but he exacts the unconditional willingness to pay it.

When a nation appears that is no longer concerned to save itself but to save mankind, a nation that no longer seeks immortality as a nation but chooses the manner and the moment of its death, it will have overcome the world. It will walk the earth without fear. It will experience the Resurrection. It will create mankind.

Excerpts from a sermon delivered in Old First Presbyterian Church, San Francisco, August 1950, and printed by request.

A MEMBER OF THE JAPANESE PARLIAMENT DESCRIBES

Japan in Transition

The rearming of Japan has already been started by American Occupation authorities in Japan. According to the August 4 United States News, *"A Japanese national police force of 75,000 men, now being formed . . . is looked upon as a new defensive army that can take the place within Japan of the U.S. divisions already sent to Korea. . . . It will be commanded by former military officers." This "police force" will in reality be an army separate from the present civilian police force of 12,500. It will live in army camps and be equipped with machine guns, armored cars, and other military weapons. In size it equals the Japanese standing army after World War I.*

The United States News *reports a division in MacArthur's headquarters, some favoring and some opposing the rearmament. Japanese newspapers reflect the apprehension of many in Japan who believe this extralegal action by MacArthur may bring the militarists back to power.* Asahi, *Japan's leading daily, said: "The Government has a responsibility to take enough care not to make this the revival of a police state."*

The Japanese are worried also about the financial burden an army will impose, about the revival of Japanese militarism and about the danger of war. Many feel MacArthur was right some time ago when he said, "The raising of armed forces would attract rather than dissuade aggression."

At this moment it appears that the end of the fighting in Korea may be imminent. It is certain that if this proves true, the effort to write a Japanese peace treaty will only be speeded up. It seems important, therefore, that at the earliest possible moment some voices should be raised against the remilitarization of Japan and the drastic revision of its unique Constitution.

So deeply do many Japanese feel about this and so hopefully do they look to peace-loving elements in America to help them that it is important for every American to read and act upon the following thoughtful letter from a member of the Japanese parliament.

AS A NATION whose Constitution specifically forbids it to arm, Japan occupies a peculiar position. This constitutional provision is the only rational foundation for a Japan that will be both peaceful and a bulwark against communism in Asia. A Japan rearmed, which the United States—or even the United Nations—attempts to use as a base for military action, will either go Communist or fall under the control of the old militarists and the militarism which American blood was shed to destroy.

On the surface, life in Tokyo seems not greatly affected by the events in Korea, but everyone is

deeply sorry for what has happened there, anxiously watches the news, and hopes the war will soon be settled.

The Japanese government has noted with interest the fact that the United States took action against the North Korean invasion in the name of the UN, although Korea was not a member of the UN. The government expressed its wish to cooperate, spiritually but not militarily, with the UN's "proclaimed purpose" of preserving peace, and is hoping that this will lead to Japan's admittance to the United Nations.

Leave Us Alone

The majority of the people, for their part, want to be left alone. They want nothing to do with fighting, even if it is sponsored by the UN. They have had enough of war. They do not want to join the UN if that means they may be called upon to take part in war.

We are anxious that our American friends should recognize how sorely some of the Japanese people are being tempted, as a result of the activity in connection with the Korean war, to think again in terms of a rearmed Japan and the extent to which the old militarists are making a comeback.

For example, finance and business circles are speculating on a war boom. Private concerns supplying war material are doing very well. There are shortages of some materials because speculators are buying them up for the Third World War which, they say, is bound to come by next summer!

Most of the Japanese people who stayed at home during the war knew little of the atrocities that were committed abroad, and as a result of the past five years of propaganda on democracy and peace are apt to believe that the old military leaders have been purged and the military-minded have had a change of heart. However, some of the old military leaders who planned and carried out such inhuman massacres, as well as some lesser figures from the old military clique, are already being used in strategic places by the American Occupation forces. This makes a deep impression on the Japanese. Some of these militarists are saying that the U.S. and UN will need a million armed men to contain communism in the Orient. Why should not Japan, they continue, supply all the needed troops and in that way accumulate money to pay the bill for Occupation costs, without drawing on Japanese economic resources? Among the big army men who led the over-running of all Southeast Asia by Japanese forces and who now again have positions of influence are Kamata, Hattori, Katakura, Arisuye and Tsuji.

It will not be too difficult for these former militarist leaders to "mobilize" their former colleagues and subordinates in the military academies and armed forces, class by class. Most of these people are now leading a meager existence and would welcome a chance, offered by a rearmament program, to improve their economic position and their social importance.

The newspapers, films, radio and lecture platforms are spreading a good deal of material that tends to glamorize UN military action in Korea and thus to familiarize people again with the concept of armaments and possible war. Women are making and sending comfort bags to soldiers in Korea. Even peace organizations are beginning

to listen to government spokesmen who talk about the need of containing communism throughout the Orient. Some people go further and take an aggressive line to the effect that the poor Russian peasants must be "liberated" from communism. A few newspapers still support the Constitution and its neutrality provisions, as do the Social Democrats, who hope that it will help toward world federation. However, the Administration and the cabinet are beginning to feel that neutrality and disarmament in the present situation are a "Gandhian dream."

Crisis Speeds Up

The Korean war has hurt the Japanese situation in another way, by speeding up the crisis in our internal democracy. "Government by decree" or executive order, under the excuse of having to suppress Communist organizations, is becoming general. Americans should keep in mind in this connection that Japan already has, with General MacArthur's permission, increased the number of *armed* auxiliary police forces, since the outbreak of war in Korea, to 75,000 with an additional 8,000 armed maritime police. The Communist Party, whose membership has dropped from the 200,000 they boasted not long ago to 100,000, is of course the first to point out the undemocratic implications of these trends. It is pointing out to all Asiatics that making Japan the unarmed and democratic "Switzerland of the Pacific" is no longer, if it ever was, the object of American policy.

The present American plan to make a peace with Japan and then make some arrangement whereby Japan would be used as a military base and Japanese manpower enlisted on the side of the West in the war against Russia, may succeed outwardly. The Japanese people may feel helpless to oppose the pressures coming from their own military and economic reactionaries and from the powerful United States. It is by no means certain, however, that under these conditions Japanese soldiers—no longer imbued with the old Emperor faith—will fight with as much abandon and vigor on the side of America against fellow Asiatics, or even Russians, as they once fought against Americans.

If the United States sincerely wants to keep the Japanese people on her side and in the anti-Communist ranks, then the United States should terminate the military Occupation and stop using Japan as a military base for UN troops. It is the American and UN troops that are "the target of the Communist armies." It is because Japan is thus made a target that the Japanese government thinks of rearming and amending the Constitution in order to achieve rearmament, which is now forbidden. The result of creating an armed Japan may well be to bring back the old militaristic regime and to kill the newborn liberal Japan.

Danger of Communism

If the Japanese people are threatened with the restoration of the old regime as a result of mistaken American "defense" policies, they may well turn Communist. And if they once make up their minds that this is the only way left to prevent the restoration of the militarism of the past, they will know how to "go Red" without any

Red "Liberation Army" from abroad, and even while the American military Occupation still continues.

Thus the last bulwark against communism in east and southeast Asia will be thrown down. The emotional revolts against the West, including increasingly the United States, which are taking place in other Asiatic countries, are largely the result of intolerable economic conditions. It should be borne in mind that the economic situation in Japan is also rapidly reaching the explosion point. Both the government and the opposition parties are agreed on this point and demand the early end of the Occupation in order that the Japanese may regain control of their own political and economic life.

It has recently been authoritatively stated that 90 percent of the Japanese are still anti-Communist and anti-Russian but they are 95 percent anti-Occupation (although not yet anti-American). This difference of 5 percent is a crucial matter, and anti-Occupation sentiment will soon claim 95 percent of the popular vote.

The deep and persistent anti-Occupation feeling has no ready outlet. For that very reason it can be used indirectly by anti-American forces and might even break out in direct demonstrations leading to a *coup d'etat.* Student demonstrations which have been misunderstood and suppressed, the series of "accidents" on Japanese railroads, are symptomatic of the unrest seething beneath the surface.

Let me note in this connection that reports that whole cities and towns in Korea are being obliterated by bombing are leading to an increase in anti-American feeling. We believe that, even if the war ends in apparent victory for the United States, the historic Korean culture will be largely wiped out and the Cominform will have trained thousands of underground fighters to capitalize on the distress and disintegration that the war has left in its train. Here in Tokyo we have a current illustration of how the Communists take advantage of such conditions to train their fighters. Every morning five hundred or more men gather at the Employment Office to demonstrate the power of "mass action" over officials. If jobs are given to a few, these are attacked as traitors and beaten down. Then the whole group shouts and demonstrates vociferously until the police arrive and disperse them. It is clear that the demonstrators are provided with food and some kind of pay from some source, and they are indoctrinated with a fervent, "religious" confidence.

End the Occupation

The messengers sent to Japan by President Truman never really find out what the Japanese masses are thinking. They see the "big brass" at G.H.Q., or Premier Yoshida who is, it is true, the leader of the parliamentary majority, but votes do not express the real feeling of the common man or woman. So far as the latter are concerned, there is still among them a lot of good feeling for the American people, but nevertheless they demand the end of the Occupation.

We are told: "If the Occupation forces go, the Communists will take over Japan with 'liberation' troops from the mainland, and Japan will be engulfed in the ocean of communism. Therefore,

the United States army has now changed its character: it is not an occupying but a protecting army." Such arguments demonstrate that the American people do not understand the psychology of the Oriental peoples at all. The Communist attack is directed not against the Japanese people but precisely against Japan as a base of U.S.-UN armies. The Chinese, and even the Russians—not to mention the Koreans—will not venture to try a landing on Japanese soil, even if Japan is stripped of all armament. They understand why Japan is disarmed and even respect Japan for it. They well know that a disarmed Japan will be no danger to them but a good trading friend.

Nor are we impressed by the argument that the Japanese Communists, instigated by the Cominform, will stage an uprising. The Japanese people might indeed follow Communist leadership if that seemed the only alternative to Occupation and consequent insecurity and economic distress. But when the Japanese are independent and self-governing, and not saddled with militarism, they can take care of their own internal security. The Japanese have through a long history demonstrated their capacity for civic life.

Should any civil upheaval then be attempted, this would offer a real opportunity for nonviolent mass resistance against threatened totalitarianism, and we believe the Japanese people would prove that they could reach a peaceful solution.

If an unarmed Japan should be forced to face attack, that would be a real and glorious testing period. In the meantime, let no one think it is a kindness for the United States to deprive Japan of its armaments and then "protect" her with American or even UN armies. There is a growing suspicion of the motives behind this too-long-extended occupation. Japan must not be made another Philippines.

In conclusion, then, there are indeed elements in Japan that would be happy to receive the signal to rearm, to amend (that is, scrap) the Constitution, and to throw off "the mask of Peace and Democracy." But if this happens, the last bulwark in Asia against communism will be swept away. It is best for the United States and for the whole of Asia, including Japan, that the Occupation come to an end and that a free and disarmed Japan stand as the real bulwark in the Pacific against the further spread of communism.

Investment

We pile up jets and bigger bombs—for each ten dollars' worth
The UN gets one cent to spend in building peace on earth;
Each dollar bet on friendship and each thousand laid on war
Will bring a full and fair return—perhaps a little more.

—Ellsworth Taylor

"Unless My Dream Is True"

By DOROTHY T. SPOERL

The permissive factor in men's attitudes to their warmaking governments is here dissected.

"THERE IS NO MAN ON EARTH wicked enough to have knowingly unleashed this power of darkness upon mankind," says Father in Kate Seredy's moving story *The Singing Tree.* Father, who had just finished telling a story of his part in the war, was surely right. No man, no nation, would deliberately unleash upon earth the powers of destruction inherent in war. Surely there can be no person living who would knowingly allow any action of his to stop the way toward peace. Yet unknowingly we do unleash these powers of destruction, and blindly we stand in the way of plans that might lead to peace. All unwittingly we allow the ways of war to develop, because these ways are so subtle and so hard to recognize.

At least we have learned that just to wish for peace is not sufficient. We have come to know that talking to children, or adolescents, or among ourselves about the need for peace will not bring the realization of the ideal. Nor are we any longer so naive as to believe that simply understanding the causes of war will remove them. And we know all too well that these causes are complex indeed, for the roots of war seem countless.

As teachers, parents, and citizens we know that the roots of war grow down from economic, political, and international misunderstanding and that these roots are probably beyond the reach of our hands groping to eradicate them. Sometimes this very fact discourages us beyond belief, yet there are some things that can be done on the level of the home and the community that may help. It is these things that should be our present concern.

First let us look, however, at the larger factors that in part explain and underlie the waves of destruction that sweep from time to time across the world. Perhaps even a cursory glance at them can lead us into a position from which we may recognize the smaller factors that we, ourselves, can control. We know that wars are caused, at least in part, by nations that feel the need for markets; that they are caused, at least in part, by the wish to control the sources of raw material so that in turn nations may control the production of that material into goods to feed the markets of the world. Truly the economic ambitions of corporations and of nations with the resulting call for "protection" are fundamental factors that cannot be overlooked.

But again, wars are caused, at least in part, by imperialist ambitions—nations reaching out for more power, more land, more control; nations that desire colonial empires, sometimes because of the

ambition of the nation and sometimes because of the wish of individuals who have risen to power within the nation. There are selfish and ambitious men who are strong enough to lead the people of their nations to war that the war may enhance their personal power and glory. The Hitlers, Napoleons, Frederick-the-Greats of the world are only a few examples of such men as these. Imperialism and ambition, these are two of the fundamental factors in war.

What We Can Do

But economic power, imperialism, personal ambition, are factors over which we can have little control. We may study them, or trace them through the history of mankind, we may become aware of the degree to which such factors affect the destinies of nations and of peoples, but alone we cannot change them. They are not, however, the only factors in the road to war. There are others, more subtle and more difficult to comprehend, but about these other factors there *is* something we can do.

One such factor may perhaps be expressed by starting with the old saying, "It takes two to make a fight." How often we have said this to our children when they came home with the perennial excuse of childhood, "But *he* started it." We have seen this adage illumined into fact by the very life around us, and often we have realized too late how much harm in our personal and community living we might have avoided by heeding it.

We can perhaps agree that it takes two to make a fight. Can we now go another step and add, "It takes men and materials to make a war"? Where do these things come from, the manpower and the material resources without which no nation or leader can go to war? By themselves the elected, self-styled, or appointed leaders of a nation do not constitute sufficient manpower to make war. Indeed the leaders of the nation remain at home to direct the destinies of war. It is the common people who are sent into battle. Nor are there many nations wealthy enough to make war; first they must secure money and material resources. Surely we realize this, we who can remember the appeals made to us so short a while ago—appeals for our money, for our metal, for our men, in order that our nation might wage war.

The Permissive Factor

Indeed it does take men and materials to make a war. Translated into personal terms this can be most simply expressed: It takes ourselves and our own personal material resources for our nation to be successful in combat. We must come to grips, then, with one fundamental factor, not more fundamental in the causes of war but more closely touching ourselves: In the final analysis the people of any nation, sometimes all unwittingly, *permit* war to be made. Why we permit it, and what we can do about it, are two aspects of the problem that seem worth investigating.

What do we really mean by this permissive factor? Anyone who has controlled even a moderately large group of people knows from experience what we mean.

No person can be powerful enough to control even a few hundred other people unless he has something on his side which could be described as "social control," the desire of those people to be where they are and to do what they are doing. Looking into the history of the relatively immediate past we can see how much time and effort had to go into the process of establishing this social control. The people had to be persuaded that they wanted war, that war was necessary, that war was inevitable, that war was the only way out; for until the people could be persuaded, no war was possible. Are we aware how strongly this permissive factor could work for peace as well as war?

A rather startling paragraph appeared in the April, 1948, issue of the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. The article in which it was found concerned a study of various interviews with, and studies on, one of the "criminals" in the "war trials." It arrested me in the process of reading not only because of its truth and its simplicity, but in part because of the very person who made the remark.

> "Why of course the *people* don't want war," Goering shrugged. "Why should some poor slob on a farm want to risk his life in a war when the best he can get out of it is to come back to his farm in one piece. Naturally the common people don't want war; neither in Russia, nor in England, nor in America, nor, for that matter, in Germany. That is understood. But after all, it is the *leaders* of the country who determine the policy and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along, whether it is a democracy or a fascist dictatorship or a parliament or a communist dictatorship. . . . Voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is to tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same in any country."

The Scapegoat Idea

Why is it that the people "can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders"? Why is it that "it works the same in any country"? The answer seems to lie in the nature of the people, something within the individuals of any country which makes them willing (even without knowing they are willing) to give this *permission* for war. And that thing within the nature of the people is the psychological mechanism we know as scapegoating.

The idea of the scapegoat is very ancient indeed, where in ritual we find the sins of the people literally placed upon the animal, who is then turned into the desert, taking the sins of the people with him. The term has come into use in recent years in connection with the unconscious tendency of people who are aggressive and frustrated to find an outlet for their tension and emotion by heaping it upon some socially acceptable substitute.

On a very simple level it works like this. A man is frustrated throughout the day. He has wakened late, missed his morning train after having had an inadequate breakfast, and arrived at the office tense and worried. He has been further frustrated by an inefficient secretary to whom he must be relatively polite, has been criticized by his employer to whom he may not

talk back, and has found in the mail that he has lost an important contract he had been hoping to receive. He returns home, tense and emotional because of the aggression he has not been able to express and the frustration that has enhanced it, and walking up the front stairs of his home he trips on his boy's roller skate. The boy receives a verbal barrage that is impressive, and perhaps corporal punishment that is extensive. The man has punished his son not only for the carelessness of leaving his skates where they should not be, but for the accumulated frustration of the day. Even the man may recognize that the punishment was disproportionate to the crime. But he will not say, "I have used my son for a scapegoat," for the mechanism works in a more unconscious way.

Frustration and Tension

Individuals do have scapegoats, and they frequently use them. So, too, do communities, and in the community the blame for the frustrations of living is generally heaped upon some easily identified, nearby, and weak minority group, a group that is blamed for the failures that belong to the community. It is socially acceptable to hate them, to blame them, to discriminate against them, and thus to rid the community of some of its tension and emotion. So, too, does a nation have a scapegoat, the "enemy" against whom it mobilizes in time of war. Because the nation, and the community, and the individuals who comprise them, are frustrated and aggressive, full of tension and emotion, all unknowingly they are willing to accept the "enemy," since the enemy becomes a socially acceptable symbol of hatred against whom one may release the emotional tensions of living. And because we are so filled with tensions and emotions that have no other outlet, we are easier to lead "to the bidding of the leaders," than we otherwise would be.

Part of the Answer

A recognition of this fact should help us to understand why the people of any nation can be led into war. Not the whole answer, of course, but a partial answer that makes the waging of war easier for the leaders, and a factor over which we can come to have some measure of control. In any nation there are frustrations, tensions, emotions, that must be unleashed in some direction. Doing away with the frustrations of our personal and social living will not make it impossible for us to be led into war, but it will make it less *necessary* for us to permit war. For without this need for release on our part the permissive factor becomes more difficult to arouse.

Perhaps the same thought put into words by others will clarify our position, for the idea has had acceptance in varied circles. I came across the same idea on the first page of a clinical study entitled *Some Aspects of Hostility in Young Children*, by Anneliese Korner.

> It is the purpose of this study to scrutinize and examine these feelings of hostility in small children. . . . The importance of this problem cannot be overestimated, not only because it will, if mismanaged, become a disturbing

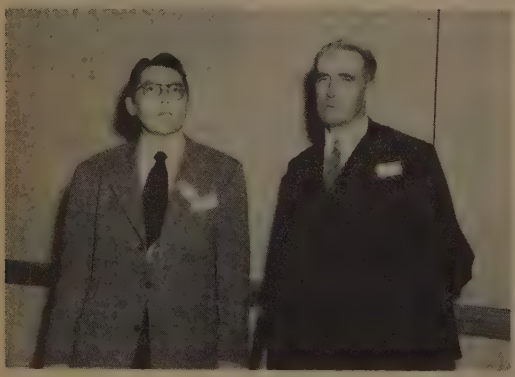
(*Continued on page* 24)

35th Annual
CONFERENCE

Evanston, Illinois - September, 1950

Four hundred delegates and visitors (below) hear national FOR chairman *John Oliver Nelson,* as *Canon Charles E. Raven* and *Dr. Harold Bosley* listen. (Above) *Prof. Channing Liem,* Korean, talks about his native land and its disaster.

Bernard Clausen, Baptist minister now working at "television for peace"; *Alfred Hassler*, editor of FELLOWSHIP; and *Patricia McCoppin*, who handled publicity for the conference, talk behind the literature display. Delegates bought almost $700 worth of peace literature.



Albert Watson, Midwest secretary of the Fellowship, and *Canon Charles E. Raven*, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, outstanding British theologian and pacifist, pose together. "Ab" supervised conference arrangements; Canon Raven spoke twice to enthusiastic audiences.

"Spur-of-the-moment" sessions were frequent. Here a group sit down with *A. J. Muste*, FOR national secretary, to discuss the possibility of recruiting members for several year-round peace caravans. Conference resolution later seconded idea.

The 1950 National Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation marked the 35th anniversary of the organization's founding in the United States. It brought to Evanston's First Methodist Church close to 400 delegates for the three days of meetings (Sept. 8-10) that were, in the words of one delegate, a "shot in the arm" for hard-pressed pacifists in a wartime world. Preliminary study conference met for four days (Sept. 5-8) at Garrett Biblical Institute and drew 70 delegates.

Fellowship's international character is dramatically emphasized in picture of *Hiroshi Sakamoto*, former Tokyo FOR secretary now studying at Temple University; *Mrs. John Nevin Sayre*, British-born wife of International Secretary; and *Okon A. Essiet*, of Nigeria, now studying at Michigan State College.

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE
International Secretary

INTERNATIONAL

The IFOR links Fellowship members and groups all over the world; helps to organize new groups; sends "missionaries" like Muriel Lester. Nevin is Chairman of the International FOR.

ANN HENNINGER
Mr. Sayre's Secretary

National

21 AUDUBON AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

EXECUTIVE

Author of two books and innumerable pamphlets and articles, and speaker in more churches, colleges and seminaries than most people even visit, "A. J." is the country's best-known pacifist.

A. J. MUSTE
National Secretary

FLORENCE HORNIG
Mr. Muste's Secretary

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.
Associate Secretary

MARJIE CARPENTER
Mr. Swomley's Secretary

ADMINISTRATIVE

Starting in 1940 as a field secretary, John Swomley is now coordinator of staff activities, its authority on militarism, and an active speaker. In his spare time, he runs the National Council Against Conscription.

COLLEGE

Well known in the field of race relations, Bayard Rustin has been expanding his activities for the Fellowship in recent years. Now in charge of the vitally important work in the colleges, he is also in constant demand for speaking engagements. A fine singer, his hobby is finding and repairing ancient stringed instruments.

BAYARD RUSTIN
College Secretary

MARTHA HIGASHIDA
Mr. Rustin's Secretary

These pages come as an answer to the many requests from readers who want to "see what the staff looks like." This is it—executive staff and office staff—as it functions in the day-to-day job of working for you. Some time we'll try to show the area secretaries and some of the local group leaders, without whom a national staff would be helpless.

STAFF

RACE

Heading up the dramatic and exciting race relations work of the FOR, as well as doing a full load of field work, is George Houser. In *his* spare time he works as executive secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

GEORGE HOUSER
Race Relations Sec'y

CATHARINE RAYMOND
Mr. Houser's Secretary

ALFRED HASSLER
Editor

Former newspaperman and religious editor, Al Hassler supervises the FOR's publishing and book sales activities. In his spare time, he functions as president of a successful housing cooperative. Connie Muste is the daughter of "A. J."

CONSTANCE MUSTE
Assistant Editor

RUTH STEENBURGH
Mr. Hassler's Secretary

LITERATURE

The FOR's literature program includes the publication of its monthly magazine, FELLOWSHIP, and of an indeterminate number of books, pamphlets, leaflets and flyers, all to the end of advancing the cause of pacifism. Part of this is paid for by contributions and subscriptions; part by the proceeds of a book and Christmas card sale that runs as high as $20,000 a year. Much of the FOR material is printed, folded, and addressed on its own machines.

NAOMI HUBER
Bookstore

MISTI SMITH
Machines

CARL NOCKE
Shipping

CHARLES HORNIG
Office Manager

SUSAN SCOTT
Records

MARGARET McCALLUM
Records

OFFICE

Keeping the financial and membership records of an organization the size of the Fellowship occupies the full time of three people and part time of another. (Julia Harmon helps out on the Davidson offset and folding machines or in the office as the need is greater.) The Fellowship's gross annual budget is usually around $125,000.

JULIA HARMON
Machines

ROBERT WEISKOTTEN
Executive Secretary

CHURCH PEACE MISSION

Occupying space at "national" temporarily is the staff of the Church Peace Mission, arranging for meetings in a dozen cities this fall. The Fellowship is a sponsor of the Church Peace Mission.

DOROTHEA BLANTHORN
Mr. Weiskotten's Secretary

> factor in parent-child relationships, but also because it may well constitute a basis for adult maladjustment, and frequently may be utilized toward destructive social ends, *such as war.* (Italics ours.)

Here is an author starting not with the adult hostility and trying to trace its roots, but starting with the roots and trying to trace the probable form the mature organism may take. But the conclusion is the same. Again we find the thought in the writings of Weston LaBarre, an anthropologist, who expresses it in terms of society, in an article entitled "Child Care and World Peace" in the April, 1949, issue of *The Child,* a publication of the Federal Security Agency.

> A culture ought not, by its very nature, generate frustrations and aggressions that it cannot handle internally. It seems to me that this implies that we should have a permissive, democratic atmosphere from A to Z in our child care. For it is frustrated individuals who are vicious, and it is the individuals that cannot achieve legitimate expressions of their aggression within a society who are liable to express the bottled-up aggression on "the enemy" beyond their tribal borders whom they have never seen.

Causes of Tensions

Or if one would see it yet differently expressed, take this small section from the historic statement on the causes of tensions that make for war signed by eight world-famous psychologists (from six different countries) after several weeks of thinking together on the problem. We could quote the whole statement with profit, but section C from "Psychology Working for Peace," by Hadley Cantril in the March 1949 issue of *The American Psychologist* bears directly on our immediate problem:

> If we are to avoid the kind of aggression that leads to armed conflict, we must, among other things, so plan and arrange the use of modern productive power and resources that there will be maximum social justice. Economic inequalities, insecurities, and frustrations create group and national conflicts. All this is an important source of tensions which have often wrongly led one group to see another group as a menace through the acceptance of false images and over-simplified solutions and by making people susceptible to the scapegoating appeals of demagogues.

Here, then, is a simple and rather widely accepted theory that the frustrations of childhood, and the frustrations of adult living, explain in part the existence of wars in the world, explain with considerable clarity why it is easy to bring the people to the bidding of the leaders. Why have not the people interested in peace long ago tried the method of reducing frustration in the lives of individuals as a first step toward reducing international tension? It is not, of course, a simple solution, for the sources of frustration are even more manifold than the causes of war, and to outline them would take a whole book at least. Then too, one would have to consider that there are other reactions to frustration than aggression, equally harmful but different in effect. Perhaps considering a few of the sources of frustration will be sufficient to suggest the magnitude of the task, but the implications for parents and educators are so important that the suggestion should

lead onward to constructive thinking.

The Infant's Experience

Some of the things that make it possible to drag the people into war stem from the earliest years of the individuals who comprise that people. What happens to the infant in the nursery can be a deciding factor toward aggression in maturity. No parent would intentionally give insecurity to a child, but how often we build insecurity upon insecurity without intending to do so! The lack of a warm and friendly feeling in the home, the autocratic laying on of authority, inconsistency in discipline where today a thing is permitted and tomorrow it is punished, the constant struggle to bring the child into line with the social mores of our culture, the conflict between the standards and ideals of the home and the community, the unconscious preference for one child over another, all of these and many other things are potent sources of frustrations to the child. Yet in the face of the realization of what it might mean, both to the children and to the nation they are to become, the existing opportunities to eradicate these frustrations become tremendously important.

Then too there are the frustrations inherent in the culture: the competitive spirit of our American culture; the existence (although its existence almost belies our cherished democracy) of discrimination and segregation, of racial and religious intolerance; the economic frustrations especially for those who must see their children hungry, ill fed, ill housed, inadequately clothed—again these are only a small sample of the frustrations of community living which are potent sources of our difficulty. But again these are things that can be treated if only we have the will to do so.

No one would think of saying that to relieve the lives of children and adults of emotion and tension would save the world from war. But no one can say that it would not help us to build toward peace, and we have never tried it in order to see how far along the road to peace such a course might carry us. The very *least* that can be said is that in a world where frustration was cut down and scapegoating became less extensive it would be more difficult to bring the people to the point where they would be eager to turn upon an "enemy" nation. And without men and materials to wage war more disputes would have to be settled by the agencies set up precisely to deal with the problems about which we now go into battle.

Educate the Emotions

Here then is cogent reason for studying more deeply the development of the child and the adolescent. Here is impetus to examine more closely our existing social and economic order. Here is adequate stimulation to build an educational system that will educate the emotions along with the mind. Here, though perhaps it be but a dream, is reason to try the reorganization of society just to see what effect it would have. The results might have significance almost beyond our present comprehension. Somehow when I think of

(*Continued on page* 37)

News from the Peace Front

Rustin Speaks in Colleges, Winter Caravans Planned

In October and November Bayard Rustin made a six weeks' trip through California and other points on the West Coast, speaking mainly in colleges and universities, and reported that the response among students to the pacifist position was excellent. "At two colleges the students stayed on a second hour after chapel to discuss pacifism. At the first assembly there were 800, and 650 came back—cut classes to stay on for further discussion. The kids are really open to hear more. At another I had five meetings one after the other with classes included and talked for 6½ hours in a row," he says.

At the Study Conference held in Evanston prior to the FOR National Conference in September, a group of young people discussed with great interest the Caravans held last summer and the possibility of participating in further Caravans. They urged the FOR to consider setting up Caravans in the late winter and spring, in addition to those which are now tentatively planned for next summer, and the FOR Executive Committee later approved the suggestion. Bayard Rustin, Director of the College Section, is working on plans for one or two Caravans to be held in February and March, and FOR groups in a number of localities are being asked whether they would like to have a Caravan in their town.

In the group at the Study Conference which discussed this there were nine people who wanted to join a full time Caravan and two others who could spend part time on it; while 18 more declared that they were ready to do peace education work, such as Caravans do, in their own communities starting at once.

Amendment to SS Regulations

The Selective Service regulations have been amended to provide that a felon shall be placed in Class IV-F only if he "is not eligible for classification into a class available for service." The regulations previously provided that all felons should be placed in IV-F, which would have applied to ex-prison COs. Such classification, however, was seldom, if ever, followed.

Student Group Calls for Peace

The International Students' Service, at its Assembly at Bombay on August 21-25, adopted a resolution pointing out that its aims of improving material and cultural relations could not be fulfilled in the absence of peace, and urging its members in universities throughout the world to "devote themselves to the task of working for a peaceful solution of the disputes among nations."

Scott to Visit United States Again

The Rev. Michael Scott, Anglican minister and FOR member who has lived and worked in South Africa for some years, after considerable difficulty obtained a "transit" visa from the United States to allow him to come to the United Nations at Lake Success. Last year he gained world-wide attention when, as spokesman of the Herero and other native African tribes, he became the only man ever to receive a hearing in a United Nations meeting in an individual capacity. Partly as a result of his plea, the UN took the case of the African tribes to the International Court of Justice, which ruled in their favor. In view of the decision, the General Assembly placed South West Africa on its agenda for this fall, and it is in this connection that Scott is coming to this country.

Center Ordered to Register as Agent

In a strong letter to the Department of Justice, A. J. Muste recently protested the order demanding that the Peace Information Center in New York register as the "agent of a foreign principal" under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938. Pointing out that the Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation had rejected participation in the Stockholm Peace Campaign and other Communist front activities even before the State Department and church bodies spoke on the subject, he continued:

"But it is one thing for individuals and private organizations to choose which activities they will or will not support and to give their reasons therefor. . . . It is an entirely different matter for government to step in and prescribe by direct or indirect means what views the citizens may hear and what movements they may contact and learn about in order to accept or reject them. It is also a very different thing when either the government or private individuals or groups resort to violence against the advocates of unpopular or even false and dangerous ideas. . . . Violence employed against unpopular ideas and the advocates of them reveals an inner lack of confidence in our own thoughts and convictions. No amount of 'peace' propaganda put out by the Kremlin or the Cominform—so long as freedom of expression is allowed and exercised—can hurt us nearly as much as continuance of the current trend of repression, violence, and hysteria with respect to ideas. The former, indeed, cannot really hurt us at all. The latter can destroy democratic society."

Garry Davis Changes His Mind

In a move that came as a surprise to pacifists, Garry Davis in September applied for citizenship in the United States, and officials indicated that he probably would have no trouble getting it. In his application Davis cited his wartime record in the Air Force, and declared that his loyalty to the United States had never been in question. On a radio program later he said that he thought he had made a mistake and that by renouncing his citizenship he had not accomplished anything.

Loses Job for Race Activities

Because she had been active in race relations work in the Oklahoma town where she lives, Ruth Brown, FOR member, was removed from the city librarian's job which she had held for 35 years. She was the organizer of the CORE group in Bartlesville, which has been active for several years.

Bartlesville has a Citizens' Committee composed of some American Legion members, some from a Republican women's club, and from local chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The first target of this Committee was the local YWCA, which had inaugurated a limited interracial program. The Y board referred the complaint to the membership, which voted in favor of the program by a large majority, and the Committee then tried to exert pressure through the Community Chest from which the YWCA receives funds.

Next target of the Citizens' Committee was Ruth Brown. After the Committee had complained to the City Commissioners, she was called before them and questioned about "subversive" literature in the library—the *Nation*, the *New Republic* and *Soviet Russia Today*—about her CORE activities, and whether she was a Communist. An hour after the questioning was finished, the city manager telephoned her and read her the City Council's statement terminating her employment "forthwith." Two months later she still had received no confirmation in writing of her dismissal.

Two weeks later at a Commissioners' meeting the Mayor declared, in answer to questions, that she had not been dismissed on suspicion of being Communist or for her race activities, but for "insubordination." Neither the Mayor nor any of the members of the City Council, however, was able to think of an instance of insubordination on her part.

Miss Brown's case has been considerably publicized by the American Library Association's Committee on Intellectual Freedom. She intends to take the case to court, and has finally succeeded, after considerable difficulty, in finding a lawyer who was willing to take it.

French, Italian COs in Prison

Cesar Bugany was sentenced for the fourth time by the Military Tribunal of Metz to a further term of a year in prison. The trial was held last February 24, and it is not known what prison he is in.

Charles Meyer, a Jehovah's Witness, was sentenced on March 3 by the Military Tribunal of the Cherche-Midi to two years in prison for refusing to put on a uniform. He is at the Prison de Fresnes.

Marcel Fredouelle received a six months' sentence on April 20, which he served at Metz.

Also in prison in France either serving sentences or awaiting trial, are *Andre Schoenauer, Leon Vinkel, Edmond Schagnenee, Pierre Vivien, Edouard Chaladus* and *Jean Serrero.*

Alexandre Labendski, Victor Samar, Felix Sadiouski and *Andre Fortunato* are imprisoned in Occupied Germany, by the French Army.

In Italy, *Pietro Pinna*, who was serving a second sentence in the military prison in Naples, has been released. He was released under the general amnesty which was accorded in connection with the Holy Year celebrations in Italy, where he came under the category of those sentenced for military disobedience. When he was notified of this, he wrote the prison register that he had no wish to take advantage of the amnesty because no recognition of his status as a war resister had been made. The officials disregarded this, however, because the amnesty made his release compulsory.

He was sent to Bari, where the regiment to which he had been assigned had its headquarters, but again refused to serve, and was sent back to the prison in Naples. There, however, they refused to take him in because they had no new warrant for his arrest and the amnesty forbade them to keep him. He was therefore at large in Naples while he waited for developments. Eventually he was called up for medical examination and rejected for military service because of a "cardiac neurosis," and has been relieved of all further military obligations.

Elevoine Santi of Bologna was tried on February 8 and sentenced to a year in prison. The judge refused to hear witnesses for the defense or to let Santi make a statement, and gave him the maximum penalty without the conditional suspension that is granted to first offenders. Santi has refused to apply for deferment as a university student, although he would have been eligible for it until he was 26.

Pietro Ferrua of San Remo was tried on April 11 by a military court at La Spezia for refusing military service, which gave him suspension of punishment. This meant that Ferrua must present himself afresh to the military authorities, refuse and be arrested and be tried all over again. This he did, and on April 24 was tried for the second time and sentenced to a year and three months. He is at the Carcere Militaire, in Gaeta, Italy.

Delegates Chosen for World Assembly

The State of Tennessee was the first to elect representatives to the World Constituent Assembly to be held in Geneva in December, 1950. The election was held on August 3, on the same basis as a popular election for presidential electors. The three representatives elected in Tennessee were J. B. Avery, Jr., a state Senator; W. A. Harwell, who introduced the bill that authorized the election; and Fyke Farmer, FOR member and former lawyer who has devoted himself to the cause of world law for the past few years because of his conviction that everything else depends on saving the world from war. Mr. Farmer drafted the plan for electing delegates from this country, under which there will be one delegate per million of population. The purpose of the assembly is to "abolish war by law." The delegates will be charged with drawing up a world constitution that can be recommended to the respective nations for ratification by the people and their governments.

A bill to insure Italian participation in the World Assembly has been introduced into the Italian Parliament with the support of Count Carlo Sforza, the foreign minister.

Southwest FOR Does Peace Education

The Southwest FOR, under the leadership of Glenn Smiley, carried on three projects during the summer, including a Retreat Workshop and a Family Institute, both jointly sponsored with the AFSC. The third was a Stay-at-Home Peace Education Project in Los Angeles, in which a typical section of town was picked and house-to-house visits were made to spread the pacifist message. In all, about 28 people participated in the project, visiting approximately 250 homes, and spending from a few minutes to a whole evening with the people they met. They introduced themselves with a questionnaire, and after finishing the questions endeavored to bring out issues in further conversation that would cause the people to whom they talked to see and appreciate the possibility of a third alternative. Contrary to their expectations, they were extremely well received, and in most instances were invited into the house for the conversation.

In the course of this project, the names of about fifty families that were interested in following through in some way were collected. These people were later visited one night per week for further discussion, and some came to FOR meetings.

Included in the project was a work-camp job, during which participants painted a Negro church gymnasium on Saturdays, and on Sundays visited and spoke in a number of churches.

"Everyone who participated in the project is thoroughly sold on the value of this aggressive and intimate approach to the mythical 'man in the street,'" reports Glenn Smiley. "The participants were of all ages, from high school to old age, and we are of the opinion that this is a method that can be used by any pacifist, even if he and his wife are the only ones in a town."

Psychologists Speak for Academic Freedom

In a recent statement, the American Psychological Association notified Governor Earl Warren of California, and President Robert G. Sproul of the University of California, that it was recommending to its members that they not accept positions as teachers or research personnel in the state university system of California "until such time as tenure conditions improve."

The University of California, after long discussions with its teachers, many of whom refused, at least at first, to sign a loyalty oath required by the Board of Regents before it would give them contracts for this year, has fired some of those who continued to refuse and is expected to fire others, in spite of tenure agreements with the teachers. The original group of about 1,000 who refused to sign had dwindled, in the course of prolonged pressure, to about 75.

The action of the APA was taken at its annual convention by unanimous agreement of the board of directors, and a spokesman for the group later added that the society had called on its members not to take jobs vacated by the California professors who were "discharged in violation of the principles of academic freedom." A legal defense fund is projected to aid men threatened with dismissal, firing or unjust dealings in connection with academic freedom.

Jottings

James Farmer, FOR member and ex-Race Relations Secretary of the FOR, has become Student Field Secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy. He was once an organizer in the South for the AFL, and is a founder and now National Chairman of CORE.

* * *

Dr. Kenneth E. Boulding of the University of Michigan and Dr. William Vickrey of Columbia University, both FOR members and professors of economics, are members of a Federal Council commission which will make a three-year study of the relation of Christian ethics to economic life.

* * *

The August 24 issue of the New York *Times* contains a letter by FOR-member Emily Greene Balch, whose name has been associated with the Stockholm Peace Pledge and the peace committees which are considered by many to be Communist fronts, urging that such a pledge should condemn *all* aggression and making clear that she was far from wishing to strengthen Russian military might. She feels that pacifist groups and individuals should not be associated with such front organizations, and did not realize that the peace pledge she signed was such, at the time.

* * *

Returning from the FOR National Conference in Evanston, Mrs. John McLanahan was killed in an automobile accident, and Mrs. Grant Washburn and Miss Betty Salmon were seriously injured.

FOR members Marjorie Longstreth, Charles Walker, Lindley Burton and James Kietzman were arrested on September 26 while holding a street meeting outside one of the entrances to Temple University in Philadelphia. They were booked on the usual charges of disorderly conduct, blocking traffic and failing to obtain a permit. Next day their case was dismissed in court.

* * *

FOR members who may be passing through Parkville, Missouri, are cordially invited to stop overnight with the Ben Fusons. They live on highway 45 just north of Parkville (which is only 15 minutes from Kansas City), can put up as many as six people, and would be glad to have children, as they have two themselves.

* * *

The July-August issue of *The Blaze*, official publication of American Youth for Political Action, the youth division of the Prohibition Party, was rejected by its Los Angeles printer on the ground that its front-page editorial, urging mediation in Korea, was "too controversial." The printer feared that continued publication of *The Blaze* might lose him heavy Army and Navy contracts. Editor of *The Blaze* is FOR-member David McReynolds, and Chairman of the AYPA is FOR-member Robert Gemmer.

* * *

The General Conference of the Mennonite Church, at its triennial sessions in September, reaffirmed its historic pacifist position.

Books

Manual for Cells

Fellowships of Concern, (A Manual on the Cell Group Process), by Harvey Seifert. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1950. 96 pp. 75c.

Harvey Seifert has prepared a manual for helping those who are eager to get on with the organization of cell groups in churches, youth organizations, peace fellowships and movements for social reform. It has put together much of what has been written on the subject and done it in the compass of something less than a hundred pages. The strongest sections deal with the characteristics of the cell and what he calls "The Procedures of Fellowship."

Both of these chapters will be useful to those who would get on with this ancient, but perennially new form, of clotting men and women who want to yield themselves more effectively to some goal and to experience the warming, encouraging, strengthening bond of fellowship which the orthodox middle-class church has not adequately provided in our time. The book is equipped with a most helpful bibliography.

Throughout it is most humble in making no pretension to setting forth anything new. One may wish that the author had felt free to explore some new territory in this field and to share his findings, for we have threshed out the first phase of this approach, and need now to be led into deeper waters. One hopes that from this able author, we may soon have some depth soundings of his own, but meanwhile all who care for this turn of spiritual nurture will be grateful to him for what he has done.

DOUGLAS V. STEERE

British COs

Challenge of Conscience, by Denis Hayes. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1949. 406 pp. illus. $2.75.

This fascinating study of British COs during World War II, by a young lawyer attached to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, is written with such clarity, objectivity and humor that it warrants a place on every pacifist bookshelf in this country. It is doubtful if anyone will ever do a better job of unwinding the confusion of Britain's complex regulations, which were complicated by general labor conscription and compulsory civil defense. But the wealth of detail does not obscure the human drama of COs in the hands of the army, before the tribunals, or behind prison bars.

The term "conscientious objector" has a much wider legal application in Britain than here. The thousands of reams of paper that have gone into definitions of "religious training and belief" in this country, complicated by the action of the late lamented 80th Congress in defining God, has no bearing on the British National Service Acts, which left all questions of definition to the CO Tribunals. Thus applicants to be placed on "the

register of conscientious objectors" included not only Christians of all sub-classifications but Jews, Buddhists, Spiritualists, communiteers, humanitarians, rationalists, ethicalists, socialists, Communists and "Unclassified—neither religious nor political." The fact that the law provided unconditional exemption for absolutists (granted in less than 5 per cent of the applications) and that the conditional exemptions provided for paid civilian work in forestry, agriculture, etc., (contrasted with our payless slave labor camps) also minimized friction. But despite this there were more than 5000 civil prosecutions involving COs, plus over 1500 courts-martial. Things were not as rosy as they were sometimes painted from this side of the Atlantic.

One perplexing revelation of this book is that there is apparently almost no British equivalent to the American nonregistrant and CPS-walk-out type of objector. Mr. Hayes' statistics (which are unusually complete) list only eight prosecutions for refusal to register; of course other nonregistrants may have been prosecuted under other sections of the law as a result of the British law's "automatic registration" provisions. There is one chapter entitled "the extremists of peace," whose stand is called "apparently negative," but it concerns almost exclusively the fight for exemption under the law. With the steady trend of American conscientious objection towards having nothing whatsoever to do with military conscription laws (and correspondingly less attention paid to exemptions), it is disturbing to note that the chief effort in England when National Service was being extended in 1947 and 1948 was to preserve the status of unconditional exemption, which Socialists in the Labor government were trying to abolish. Is British conscientious objection really as limited to "the witness of service" and to obtaining personal exemption as this book indicates? Surely there must be a growing concern that legislation which drafts anyone to be trained in murder is fundamentally wrong, and should be given no sanction regardless of its special favors granted to COs.

The statistical tables show a steady decline in the number of COs, ranging from 2 per cent of all registrants in the early months of the war to less than one fifth of 1 per cent in 1947 and 1948. Apparently ten years of war and conscription have left British pacifism (among young men) but a skeleton of its former self. Mr. Hayes points out the reasons: Conscription "instead of being a hated expedient . . . had won for itself a place in society." Men coming up to the

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"HISTORICAL EXAMPLES OF PLANNED WAR SCARES" by Albert Bofman. 10c. 3 for 25c. 14 for $1.00. U.S. Committee Against Militarization, 6329-F May, Chicago 21, Illinois.

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registration age of 18 have now lived more than half their lives in an atmosphere of war and compulsory military service. These are sobering thoughts and sobering figures for us to consider as our country moves towards increasing military regimentation of its youth.

CALEB FOOTE

High Mysticism

Prayers and Meditations, edited by Gerald Heard. Harper, 1949. 153 pp., $2.00.

Those concerned for the mystical side of spiritual life are continually indebted to the religious editor at Harpers, Mr. Eugene Exman, for his perception and pioneering in this field. *Prayers and Meditations* is an interesting addition to that succession, providing a slim, comely little book of actual prayers.

Providing a month's daily cycle of prayers by various authors—Aldous Huxley, for one, writing seven of the pieces—the book has a beatific disinterestedness characteristic of Mr. Heard. Christians, or adherents of any particular faith, will find lacking the warmth and directness of history in these pages, but may well covet the lofty theism expressed here. The exquisite line, the luminous neoPlatonic theological thinking behind it all, the evident intensity of spirit—all place us again in the editor's debt. Even though such expression of devotion has a spiritual urbanity far beyond most people, it can freshen prayer life for almost anyone.

—JOHN OLIVER NELSON

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FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Primer for Social Action, by Homer A. Jack. Beacon Press, 1950. 26 pp., 25c.

An excellent, simple, clearly expressed and well-written pamphlet on techniques for social action, including direct action, education, polls, tours, etc. Highly recommended. C. M.

CORRECTION

Conscientious Objectors Under Selective Service, published by the Central Committee for COs, reviewed in September FELLOWSHIP, was wrongly listed as costing 40c. It is an 18 page pamphlet, and costs 25c.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946.

Of FELLOWSHIP published monthly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1950.

STATE OF NEW YORK } ss.
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Alfred Hassler, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the FELLOWSHIP magazine and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily, weekly, semiweekly or triweekly newspaper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations), printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher—Fellowship of Reconciliation, 21 Audubon Ave., New York 32, N. Y.; Editor—Alfred Hassler, 21 Audubon Ave., New York 32, N. Y.; Managing Editor—None; Business Manager—None.

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ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 9th day of October, 1950.

JOSEPH L. TORRISI, *Notary Public,* State of New York
(SEAL) (My commission expires March 30, 1951)

Letters

Race in Australia

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Last night Professor Julius Stone of Sydney gave a broadcast of his recent trip to America. It is stimulating to realize that the intelligentzia are aware of the very real need to fight for freedom of speech and action. The Governments could so easily become dictatorships. He did not naturally put it quite so bluntly, but I was deeply impressed, and it *is* quite futile to imagine that people with a different colored skin from our own can much longer be set aside as unimportant or inferior. Possibly you—as I—have always known this, but it has never been broadcast quite so plainly as one or two talks which have recently come over the air. I feel quite encouraged because it seems a healthy sign. Yet some of these signs towards peace, or friendship with the colored races are engendered by fear and not by the sound reasoning of brotherhood.

MURIEL LOVELL
Oakbank, South Australia

How to Live on . . .

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

A correspondent in FELLOWSHIP suggested living on an income below the taxable level as a method of avoiding war taxes. Miss Mildred Ryder gives excellent arguments for her solution, and ends by saying she is living on ten dollars per week. In the July-August *Catholic Worker*, Ammon Hennacy tells in his column of living "rent free" on two hundred dollars per year. Both these people would seem to be living on the basis of voluntary poverty rather than mere avoidance of taxes (Hennacy actually earns far more than the taxable limit). On more money one may live fairly comfortably—go to shows, take guests out to dine, go on short trips to pacifist meetings, etc.—and still pay no income taxes.

The following figures are based on averages over the past sixteen months for a single person:

Dollars per month	
Groceries and meals	$21.04
Miscellaneous	5.61
Transportation	3.12
Telephone	2.42
Clothing	2.30
Medical-Dental	2.00
Household and radio	1.92
Electricity	1.69
Water	1.22
Gas	1.08
Entertainment	.97
Haircuts	.84
Laundry	.67
Total	$44.88
Property Taxes	$ 4.00

With the above expenses as a basis, we submit first a budget for a person who wants to work as little time as possible for money. Perhaps this is so he can devote more spare time to FOR activities. Anyway, here it is:

Expenses plus taxes	$48.88	
"Reserve"	7.32	
Total	$56.20	per month

The annual income to meet this is $675, which on "short" Form 1040 is tax exempt. Over seven dollars per month reserve is available for saving or for other purposes.

The next budget is for that energetic social actionist who wants to donate as much $$ to the FOR as possible and doesn't mind even earning money in order to do this. His budget is:

Expenses	$44.88	
Contributions (15% of income)	9.52	
Taxes	4.00	
"Reserve"	5.10	
Total	$63.50	per month

The annual income to meet this is $762, which is tax exempt on "long" Form 1040 when both "contributions" and "taxes" are deducted.

Some may ask about provisions for expenses for accidents and other unforeseeable medical bills. At this point Congress has been most kind to pacifists, for all such expenses over five percent of one's income are also deductible. In the second budget above, annual medical bills over $38.10 (.05 x 762) may be defrayed by additional income without payment of tax, up to a maximum of $1,250 per year. For a single person this seems ample security against taxation!

I believe budgets for families of two or more will be even less rigorous than the above. Yet I question this approach to the tax solution by those who sincerely do not believe in voluntary poverty. To those who refuse taxes as a protest and not purely as an act of non-participation in war, I would say that in using this method one might also write a letter of protest to the Treasury Department stating one is refusing to earn enough income to be taxable because of his beliefs.

FRANKLIN ZAHN
Pomona, California

Congratulations from N. Z.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The annual conference of the New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society has asked our community to convey to you greetings from the Christian Pacifists of this country.

We admire your movement immensely! The courage of your members in fighting racial discrimination and preparations for war, fill us with admiration. Your struggle against the evil of conscription has great significance for us now that peacetime conscription has been re-introduced into our country.

May both our organizations fight on with all the power of gentleness and compassion against the brutality, wrong, fear, hate and the militarism they create, that so evilly chain our world.

ROBERT BURTON
Nelson, New Zealand

SPOERL

(*Continued from page* 25)

these things I cannot banish from my mind the last two lines of one of Santayana's sonnets,

> I know but this of all I would I knew:
> Truth is a dream, unless my dream is true.

Peace has been a dream in the heart of man for so many years, and so often the dream has faded before the destruction of war. The very least we can do (and it *is* something we can accomplish), the many of us who hold dear that dream of peace, is to make it hard instead of easy for the people to be led to the bidding of their leaders. Perhaps in very truth we may set our country free.

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A fine fictionized biography, especially good for young people, by *John Hoyland*. *Was $1.*

The Case of the IRRITABLE CAROLLERS

During the week before Christmas the people in the national FOR office sing Christmas carols each noon. Most of them sing joyously, according to tradition, but some of them seem abstracted, gloomy, or even irritable.

These irritable carollers are the workers in the Literature Department, and they are irritable because they are worried and tired. Will that shipment of Christmas cards reach the customer in Des Moines in time? Is it too late to reorder the new Huxley book from the publisher? Did the volunteer workers put envelopes in with the cards? Cards with the envelopes? Can they count?

The workers in the FOR Literature Department are a devoted bunch—devoted but small. During the two months before Christmas they usually handle three or four times the volume of work of any comparable period of the year. Too often the flood of late orders, for cards and books, catches them out of stock, or too late for safe delivery (the post office gets busy then, too), and they get worried and cross and don't enjoy their carols.

Nobody has ever found a way to persuade people to do their Christmas shopping early, but our customers are something special in the way of people. We believe most of you, now that you know about the Irritable Carollers, will get your orders in before November 30. Won't you?

And There's Fellowship, Too

We keep getting letters from readers who say FELLOWSHIP gets better every month, that they couldn't do without it, and that it ought to be read by many more people. Here's your chance to help the cause along—give subscriptions to FELLOWSHIP for Christmas. Close to 2,500 nonpacifists subscribe to it now; perhaps your nonpacifist friend will enjoy it, too. A gift card will be sent on orders received before December 15. *Per year* . . . . $2.

A Word About

THE DAGGER and THE CROSS

By Culbert G. Rutenber

The Dagger and the Cross, which is published by Fellowship Publications this month, is a unique book in the pacifist library, and will be a valuable one.

> *Christian pacifism (except for the "historic peace churches") has grown principally out of the "liberal" wing of Christianity—what once was called "modernist"—and its theology has been viewed with skepticism and suspicion by the more "conservative" wing of the church.*

Now, in *The Dagger and the Cross*, there is a powerful, Bible-centered case for pacifism by a theologian widely known and respected by both groups.

> *Professor Rutenber is professor of the Philosophy of Religion at the Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, in Philadelphia. He has spoken widely at denominational and interdenominational meetings, at colleges and universities, and under many auspices. Readers of FELLOWSHIP will remember his moving* The Christian Faith and the American Scene *(December, 1948), and delegates to the Conference on the Church and War in Detroit last May will recall his vivid words on the theology of Christian pacifism there.*

The Dagger and the Cross is, we think, a publishing event for Christian theology in general and for pacifists in particular. We hope Fellowship members and readers will read the book themselves and help to see that it gets the circulation it deserves.

THE DAGGER AND THE CROSS $1.

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